दलों के हों, उन सब ने मिलकर इस बात की मांग की है कि राजस्थान सरकार मध्य प्रदेश सरकार को बराबर पानी नहीं दे रही है। कुछ समय पूर्व, करीब डेढ़-दो साल पहले यह समस्या खड़ी हुई थी। मध्य प्रदेश में, क्योंकि आप और हम सभी मानते हैं कि चम्बल नदी मध्य प्रदेश से होकर राजस्थान से गुजरती हुई यमुना में जाकर मिलती है। मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने छोटे छोटे और मध्यम साइज के बान्ध बना कर के राजस्थान में आने वाले पानी को रोका था जिसका विरोध राजस्थान सरकार ने किया था। मैं यहां पर यह सवाल उठाना चाहता हूं कि गांधी सागर से पानी न मिलने से आस-पास के चम्बल कमांड एरिया के किसानों को बड़ी भारी परेशानी हो रही है। किसान चाहे मध्य प्रदेश के हों या राजस्थान के हों पानी की आवश्यकता दोनों के लिए है। मैं इस स्पेशल मेंशन के द्वारा यह ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि इस प्रकार की समस्याएं आगे नहीं बढ़ें, ज्यादा झगड़ा नहीं हो क्योंकि आए दिन कोई न कोई समस्या खड़ी होती है और बहुत बड़ा रूप धारण कर लेती है। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि दोनों सरकारों के बीच में पानी के बंटवारे की समस्या का समाधान हमेशा के लिए कर दिया जाए और जो भी एग्रीमेंट हो उसके अनुसार बराबर पानी दोनों राज्यों को मिलता रहे। मुझे यह एतराज नहीं है कि पानी उनका दिया जाए लेकिन इस समस्या का समाधान जरूर किया जाए और किसी प्रकार का झगड़ा न बढ़े। यह समस्या हमारे पश्चिमी राजस्थान में पंजाब और राजस्थान के बीच में हुई, इसी प्रकार से दूसरी जगहों पर पर भी गुजरात और राजस्थान में हो रही है। इस प्रकार की समस्याओं को खत्म करने के लिए सरकार कदम उठाए।

GOVERNMENT MOTION ON CHALLENGE OF EDUCATION—A POLICY PERSPECTIVE.

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO): Madam, Deputy Chairman, I beg to move:

"That the Status paper entitled 'Challenge of Education—a policy perspective' laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 20th August, 1985, be taken into consideration."

Madam, a new Ministry of Human Resources Development has been formed by combining Education, Culture, Sports, Youth Affairs, Women's Welfare, Integrated Child Development and Censorship of Films. The conceptual framework of this Ministry consists in building up the all-round personality of man and to this end, integrating as many activities as posible, with a view to evolving a package of inputs and delivering them. The process is not merely one of coordination but, real integration, so that all components are woven into a single continuous, harmonious programme. As Members are aware, these programmes were implemented sparately in the past, whether at the Centre or in the States, whether under one Minister or more. The integration such as is being attempted now is thus novel and unique. Its evolution in all details is, therefore, bound to be gradual and on a pragmatic pattern.

Education has to play a catalyst role in this process of human resource development. It has to provide the continuum as well as a basis for the progress of the individual and the society through development of values, attitudes and skills; it has to provide strength and resilience to the people nd enable them to respond to the challenge of change. It has to be characterised not merely by its concern for the individual but even more so, its capacity to serve as an instrument of social transformation. In the Indian conext, the concept of national development goes far beyond economic growth. It is our endeavour that the product of our education system would be a self-confident individual with a strong

[Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao]

commitment to democratic values and secularism, concerned with the emergence of nation united in purpose from amongst people speaking differnt languages, professing different religions, pursuing a variety of life styles. It would be imperative to devise a system under which all education endeavour is fully integrated with socio-cultural millieu and aimed at development of the full potential of the individual.

In Government's view the time has come when we should conceptualise the roles of the different stages of the education process not in isolation but as integral parts of one single, all-inclusive movement of human resource development. Although it is difficult to say where exactly the movement begins, we may perhaps begin with the pregnant mother and the antenatal care which she receives. When the baby is born, it gets full immunisation and the benefits of nutrition programmes. Then it enters an Anganwadi and the pre-primary stage of education. Two years later, the child enters the primary school and continues until the age of 14, as envisaged under the Constitution. During this time, he gets the benfits of the school health programmes which would ensure full coverage. On the education side, those who drop out of the formal school would be served by the non-formal network which is so devised as to enable lateral entry into the formal stream. The formal and non-formal systems open up into the vocational stream, properly graded so as to make him fit for a vocation and to provide for vertical or lateral entry, based again on merit, into the higher education net-work, literal or technical. Those who cannot take advantage of institutionalised education would be welcome to enter the open university or distance education system, for whatever purpose they have in view, at their own pace and convenience. Thus the portion of the individual's life-span, from conception to graduation, upto he highest degree, and is inclusive of continuing education, would be informed by the principle of affording full and equal educational opportunity to all those who desire and deserve. The package will naturally contain the important factors of culture, physical fitness and kindred values throughout. It is equally important that keeping in view the priorities in our national development, all educational programmes are suitably coordinated, such as agricultural education, medical education, education of para-medical and health workers and workers' education with a principal focus on the clientele groups up to 35 years of age.

In view of the fact that the bulk of our chlidren enrolled in schools are first generation learners, and since the bulk of the country's adult population in the productive age group of 15-35 are illiterate, the accent in our development effort should be on promotion of universalisation of elementary education and removal of illiteracy. Also, investment in female literacy is the best way of improving quality of life as it motivates the adoption of the small family norm and leads to better health and nutritional standards and better family rearing patterns. The integration of programmes of adult education with other related schemes like Integrated Child Development Scheme, Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas, promotion of literacy through NSS for NYK would call for special emphasis.

The educational process is also expected to provide knowledge and skills for solving problems of development besides enabling the learners to develop an understanding of the physical and social environment. Such a process appropriately cannot remain confined to the portals of the educational

institutions alone or to the client groups in schools, colleges and universities. It has to be a life long process. The educational endeavour should, therefore, be addressed to the requirements of continuing life-long education which is receiving increased attention today. Again the thrust towards all round development of the human personality should be in the direction of creation of a learning society in which teaching is assigned the role of the aids in the process of learning.

Our education should equip the individual and the society to face confidently the challenges of the future. But while the future is limitless in its expanse, its beings in the next moment. The future, therefore, starts from now. However ,taking a realistic timeframe, the tasks assigned to the Ministry of Human Resource Development call for a planning perspective. Apart from whatever can be assigned in the immediate future the perspective plan should be approached in the context of the challenge of the 21st century. That challenge has already begun, in the sense that the first graduate of the net century is already in Class 1 in the current year 1985. How we shape this clientele of about 100 million over the next fifteen years would determine the country's future in the 21st century. Needless to say that each succeeding year hereafter would bring a fresh clientele whose number may reach 130 million annually. This huge human mass is to be the main target of the programme of human resource development.

The emphasis on the 21st century so often laid by the Prime Minister is also significant from another angle, namely the qualitative content of the challenge of change. The revolution in the field of electronics, computers, micro-chips and communications is bound to have an all pervading effect on our life styles hereafter. Informatics has emerged as a powerful discipline which calls for an effective development of communication support system. In the context of the rapid depletion of non-renewable sources of energy, greater emphasis would require to be placed on the development of renewable sources of energy which present, even more than mere technology, a challenge of cost-effectiveness, which is really another challenge of technology with more complex ramifications. All this would require evolving a new and dynamic education policy rivetted on the future, yet rooted in our values.

As of now, a nation-wide debate is in progress on the contours of a New Education Policy. A status paper: Challenge of Education: A Policy perspective, has been published by Government. It contains an over view of the state of education and some pointers to possible future initiatives based essentially on the views and suggestions from educational planners, teachers, students, parents, intellectuals—in short all those who are interested in education The Paper is intended to provide the basis for an in-depth debate which would facilitate the formation of the New Education Policy. While the policy would emerge out of a broad consensus. I would like to briefly outline some initiatives and priorities which Government considers necessary to achieve within a realisable time frame:

(a) universalisation of free elementary education; womens' education to be free upto and including Higher Secondary;

(b) removal of illiteracy amongst people through functionally relevant programmes of Adult Education, in the age group 15-35;

[Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao]

(c) widespread dissemination of knowledge of India's history, culture and destiny and inculcation of values underlying the Indian Constiuttion;

(d) strengthening of existing institutions and, where necessary, the establishment of new institutions of excellence for R&D and Man-Power Development for the future scenario of economic progress;

(e) providing a vocational thrust to education to fulfil developmental needs as well as enhancing employability;

(f) taking up a massive, long-term, nation-wide programme of school improvement and to support and stimulate it by sarting a fair number of qualiy institutions which endeavour to serve as the catalysts of the above-mentioned long-term programme. The main characteristics of these institutions are—

(1) quality;

(2) Social justice, viz. education to be available irrespective of the parents' capacity to pay;

(3) Merit base and cultivation of talent;

(4) Utility and social purpose, conforming to accepted national policies;

(5) Having largely rural coverage; and

(6) fostering national integration. When and as these institutions are established, an elaborate scheme to radiate quality from them would be formulated and implemented, drawing from experience as we go along.

(g) delinking degrees from jobs where possible and establishing greater relevance and complementarity between the content and processes of education on the one hand and the requirements of different client groups on the other;

(h) enhancing general access to education through use of mass media and setting up institutions for Open and Continuing Systems of Education.

The process of drawing action plans, and target setting has already been initiated concurrently with the Seventh Five Year Plan exercise.

With this brief outline, I request the House to commence discussion.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are two amendments, one by Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya and another by Shri S. W. Dhabe. The Members may move their amendments, without speech. Shri Malaviya is not here. Shri Dhabe, please move your amendment without speech.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): I move:

That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that in view of the important omissions in the said paper in respect of vital aspects of education, such as physical education, sports, etc. and in view of the new perspective and orientation in the policy for development of human resources, Government should refer the said Paper to a Committee of experts consisting of not more than 21 members drawn from Vice-Chancellors of Universities, State representatives and People's representatives, with the Union Minister for Human Resource Development as its Chairman, with instructions to submit its report with final recommendations within two months."

The questions were proposed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Motion and the amendment are open for discussion Dr. R. K. Poddar will speak. As was discussed soon after the Question Hour that we are very hard-pressed for time and we have to finish a lot of business today, I need the co-operation of each and every speaker. Congress Party has cut down their time. I would request Members to be very precise. Dr. Poddar, you have 22 minutes' time. If you can finish it before that, I will be personally obliged. I cannot help it. The time is short.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): How can one be a teacher without learning?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am also keen that the educational policy should be discussed at length, but we are short of time.

DR. R. K. PODDAR (West Bengal): I will try to oblige you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

DR. R. K. PODDAR: Madam, the hon. Minister has given his ideas regarding the holistic approach in regard to human resource development. The whole consists of parts. Unless we take care of the parts, we will not succeed.

(Interruptions)

Now, Madam, in this holistic concept of human resource development, I think the most important component is the formal educational system. I would like to concentrate on this aspect. The document Challenge of Education: a Policy Perspective, on the face of it, is apparently genuine cut burst against the dismal picture of our current educational system. The authors of the document, however, have fixed responsibilities in wrong places for this unhappy situation. In their impatience for showing "improvements", according to the perception of the ruling elite, they have suggested some hasty measures. These, I feel, do not hold any promise for better educational opportunities for the vast masses of our people. The present educational system, as is well-known, is a continuation of what was introduced during the British period, albeit with some changes brought about from time to time, the latest one being through the National Educational Policy of 1968. Let us recapitulate a little as to how this educational policy came about.

The last Education Commission consisting of 17 Members, including many experts from the U.S.A. U.S.S.R., U.K., France and Japan, under the Chairmanship of the very distinguished physicis educationing Prof. D. S. Kothari diligently carried out the Herculean task of reviewing the whole educational structure from the primary to the university stage. This Commission worked for two years, interviewing nearly 9,000 persons, scrutinising about 2000 memoranda and holding a number of seminars and symposia and finally submitted a voluminous report of about 1,000 printed pages. This report was openly and exhaustively debated by the academic community as well as by Parliament. The National Educational Policy incorporating the main recommendations of this report was unanimously adopted by Parliament in 1968. Some of the recommendations and guidelines, as summarised below, are worth recalling:

(a) India is in transition from a society in which education is the privilege of a small minority to one in which it could be made available to the mass of the people. (Section

[Dr. R. K. Poddar]

1.17). (b) Science should be made the basic component of our education and culture (Section 1.21) (c). It is the responsibility of the educational systems to bring the difrrent social classes and groups together and thus promote the emergence of an egalitarian society, but at present, instead of doing so, education itself is tending to increase social segregation and perpetuate and widen the class distinctions (Section 1.36) (d) If these evils are to be eliminated, we must move towards the goal of common school system—I want to underline these words' common school system... of public education, which will be open to all children, adequately maintained and free of charge (Section 1.38);(e) Education, at all levels, must be imparted through the mother-tongue or the regional languages (Section 1.61). And finally, our educational system, without neglecting our rich heritage and tradition, must assimilate the great humanistic ideals thrown up by the French Revolution, Karl Marx and the European enlightenment. (Section 1.77) I feel very sad that the authors of the new document have not mentioned these guidelines. Perhaps they want us to forget them for two reasons. First, because none of these above guidelines have yet been realised at least in full. Secondly, some of their policy prescriptions, if adopted, would invariably run counter to the recommendations of the Kothari Commission.

Let us take the problem of mass education. The 1981 census report and the fourth All-India education survey, conducted by the NCERT, reveal a distressing picture. 40 per cent of our primary schools have no roof, about two lakh schools do not have blackboards, 1.65 lakh schools have only one teacher, while about 70 per cent of students drop out before they reach the last year of the primary stage.

Neither the Kothari Commission nor the National Education Policy of 1968 visualised such a situation. It is the outcome of utter neglect of mass education by the Union Government during past four decades. During these years it has annally spent only about 1 per cent of its budget on education while the Kothari Commission recommended a minimum of 6 per cent. Of the 905 crore outlay during the Sixth Plan period, Centre's contribution is a mere 54 crore i.e. about 7 per cent. Thus the Centre has practically abdicated its responsibility of imparting education to the masses and passed it on the shoulders of the States which do not have adequate funds to bear this onerous burden. So, the failure on the mass education front is not due to absence of a 'good' policy but because of unwillingness of the Centre to allocate sufficient funds for it.

Any honest attempt to improve our present educational system must begin with boldly tackling this issue. The new document does not assure us that, by the 21st century, none of our primary schools are going to be without roofs and blackboards; that each school shall have at least two teachers and that there will be free supply of text books to students and that there will be no drop outs Instead, it advocates token investments on non-formal channels for dissemination of elementary education to the masses without any commitment on further development of existing primary schools. We would request the Central Government to utilise its huge stock, i.e. between 30—40 million tonnes, of excess foodgrains by launching a 'food for education' programme; say, 1 kg. of rice or any other foodgrain may be given to a child from a poor family for each day of attending his school as an insurance against dropout. Foodgrains may also be used specifically for building durable structures from locally available raw materials to house the roofless schools. In addi- been implemented in the Central Universities and is being pushed through UGC for imposition on all the State universities. Not being satis-

tion to all these, the budgetary allocation for education must be raised from 1 per cent to at least 10 per cent. We spend about 15 per cent of our budget for national defence. Defence of our borders no doubt has overriding importance, but unless we spend enough to develop our human resources, we would not be in a position to utilise properly what we manage to defend.

Coming to the stage of secondary education, we find that the new document is silent about the 'common school' system as recommended by the Kothari Commission. The later also strongly pleaded for discontinuance of privately run posh and prestigious schools. The new document, in fact, wants a reversal of this approach and recommends instead setting up of so-called model schools, one in each district by the Central Government. These schools would obviously corner all the central development funds while the ordinary schools in which 99 per cent of our student population study would continue to languish in their present pitiable conditions. The plea that only meritorious students would be admitted into these schools is not acceptable on two counts. (a) Merit, which means ultimately scores in the so called admission test that would be purchaseable through private tuition and (b) there will be at least 20 times equally meritorious students studying outside the Model Schools. In practice, these Model Schools will cater to the aspirations of the rural and urban rich with huge subsidy from the Central fund which in the ultimate count means taxes collected from the poor. So this idea of having one Model School in each district must be dropped and infrastructural facilities like books, libraries, games, sports etc. must be augmented in all the schools without discrimination.

1.00 P.M.

Privatisation of education and private schools must be discouraged. The old and the new rich should see reason to send their children to common schools, are recommended by Kothari Commission. If they have too much money to spare, why not introduce some kind of educational cess on the individual and corporate earnings?

The idea of Model Schools is reminiscent of Macaulay's idea which was based on the socalled "downward filteration theory" of education. This theory is based on the belief that if a small elitist layer of the society is properly educated, then the benefits of such education will slowly percolate down to the mass of ordinary people. Such ideas were totally rejected by our national leaders. The Great Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay ridiculed it by saying that education is not water and masses do not constitute a tower of sand. It is most unfortunate that after four decades of Independence, such century-old reactionary ideas are being revived under a different grab. Perhaps our new elites are also making some dangersous calculations. The new economic and industrial policies are likely to introduce widespread automation and computerisation. As a result, lesser and lesser number of highly skilled persons will be necessary. These coveted positions would then be more easily bagged through Model Schools autonomous colleges, centres of excellence like IITs and IIMs. So all right-thinking persons who have the people's interests in their hearts should oppose this undemorcatic, anti-people, elitist idea of Model Schools.

The new document suggests a new formula for medium of instruction in the Model Schools—English for Science and Mathematics and Hindi for Social Sciences, irrespective of the environment in which the school is located. This formula is not only unscientific in theory but also against the hitherto accepted guideline of the National Education Policy (1968)

[Dr. R. K. Poddar]

which, *inter alia*, states as follows—and I quote:

"The energetic development of Indian languages and literature is a *sine qua non* for educational and cultural development. Unless this is done, the creative energies of the people will not be released, standards of education will not improve, knowledge will not spread to the people and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will remain, if not further widen. The regional languages are already in use as media of education at the primary and secondary stages. Urgent steps should now be taken to adopt them as media of education at the university stage."

Thus the formula of the document is nothing but a surreptitious reversal of one of the basic tenets of our National Education Policy of 1968. It should be rejected not only on this count. There is more weighty consideration: learning of a foreign language and learning various subjects through a foreign language are different things. If you try to each a youngster though a language foreign to his environment, the net rewards cramming, a proven obstacle to developing his interest in original and critical thinking. This topic has been so well discussed throughout the past decades that it hardly needs any re-emphasising. Our Prime Minister now a days is rightly eulogising the educational ideas of the Great Rabindra Nath Thakur. I wish the protagonists of the new document would kindly glance through Rabindra Nath's writings in this regard and see the futility of such false notions.

The document is critical of our University system. It highlights... (*Time-bell rings*)...Three minutes, please.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Allow him to finish. Madam You would agree that it is an educative one.

DR. R. K. PODDAR: It highlights the general impression that there has been too much unplanned expansion of higher education. We have now about 120 universities, 5,000 colleges and lakhs of students. These are not really too many in comparison with developed countries. If we had no illiterates amongst us, a big country like ours could easily sustain four or five times as many colleges and universities. It is our economic and educational backwardness as well as lack of employment opportunities which has rendered much of the higher eduaction system apparently redundant. Instead of suggesting bold measures for tackling these basic issues, the document proposes, as a panacea, restriction of higher education. This would certainly not be feasible. Our people have legitimate and genuine urge for education and they hope to realise the goal of a better standard of living through education. Any democratic government should respect this urge, instead of denying it.

The real problem with the universities is the lack of financial and administrative autonomy for those who really constitute the university. The idea of developing a few autonomous colleges and centres of excellence, while neglecting the problems of balanced growth of thousands of ordinary colleges and 100-odd State universities illustrates the working of the minds of our academic overlords. As those ideas have not found favour with the intelligentsia in general who wish to introduce democratic control of educational institutions in the interest of the toiling people, the right of elected representation of teachers, employees and students is being sought to be denied. This policy has already

fled with those measures, the UGC is proposing to set up special police forces and special tribunals on university campuses and disallow elected student unions. These are ominous trends, no doubt. But these also indicate the growing attraction of democratic values and norms among India's academic community and consequent fear complex of existing vested interests who are at present reaping the benefits of our higher education system.

It is really puzzling that the Central Government spokesmen are scared of democratic rights of teachers while they themselves agree, at least in principle to bestow such rights on employees working in banks and public sector undertakings. They seem to have great fascination for the principle of nomination instead of elected representation; they argue that elections are always tainted with open politics. But, even a child in today's India knows that nominations represent a worse of behid-the-scene politics. It is an open secret how the UGC or other bodies are constituted. Only those experts who would follow the official line are nominated. State Universities are remote-controlled through the centrally-appointed Governers who, as Chancellers, have the final say in University matters, sometimes disregarding the wishes of the State Governments and the University bodies. This is how the Central Government proposes to "depoliticise" our campuses.

Those who are quite happy with *status quo* always advise the teachers to teach well and students to study hard, without being distracted by what is happening in the outside world. But they must be living in a fool's paradise. During the days of Independence struggle as well as in the subsequent years, many of our best teachers and best students showed that they could not be delinked from the struggle of the masses for independence and a better life. I am sure they are not going to give up this progressive tradition at the advice of some bureaucrats or ministers. I strongly feel that much of the chaos and con- the sphere of higher education can be removed, not by restricting, but by extending the democratic and political rights of the academic community in the management of academic institutions and conduct of academic programmes, as is being attempted in West Bengal. A few more minutes please.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Abide by your commitment.

DR. R. K. PODDAR: I always spoke less than others. I am drawing upon my earlier "Savings".

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Make important points. From the beginning I have been requesting everybody to stic to m?.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Abide by your commitment.

DR. R. K PODDAR: Autonomy of a university should not degenerate into the authoritarian rule of the Chancellor or his chosen Vice-Chancellor; on the contrary, it must mean self-management by the elected representatives of teachers, students and other experts constituting the senate or the court of the university.

Another stumbling block in the smooth functioning of our higher education system is the attempt to control it from the Centre through the UGC, presumably on the belief that all wisdom is concentrated in Delhi. Because of the enermity of the size and the diversity of cultures of our country, the UGC, like an one-eyed animal, is always prone to get into conflict with State universities or the State Government. What is needed is its decentralisation and restructuring on genuine federal principles. In practice, the UGC is mostly begged down with the problems of Central universities because as per the stipulations of the present Act, it looks after both the developmental and maintenance expenses of the Central universities but only the developmental needs of the State University after every five years. As a consequence of this arrangement about three-fourths f the UGC funds

[Dr. R. K. Poddar]

go to Central institutions, while it distributes only the remaining funds among the 100 odd State universities. The State universities have to make do with financial difficulties all the time. Teachers of Central universities also get much greater amounts of allowances. Thus, there is continuous resentment and tension.

[The Vice-Chairman Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal, in the Chair]

Let the maintenance of Central universities be the direct responsibility of the Union Government as the State universities are maintained by the State Governments. This way, the UGC will be able to look after the developmental needs of all universities, Central and State, on equal footing without any discrimination.

The UGC has also failed in its other important duty of evolving uniform academic standards for all Indian universities. This utopian ideal is not pursued in any other country simply because the academic standard of a university, or for that matter any other educational institution, depends on the quality of teachers and students cultural environment and infrastructural resources. It is next to impossible to make these factors uniform all over India. So. I would like the Central Government to respect the wisdom of the makers to our Constitution and revert "Education" from the Concurrent List to the State List. The Central allocations for education should be equitately distributed among the States.

Each State should have its own permanent Education Commission. Chairman of the Sate Education Commissions, along with experts nominated by the Central Government should costitute a National Council on Education in the place of the UGC which should be presided over by the Prime Minister and should also include all Central Ministers for education, Health, Science and Research and Ministries.

THE VICE-CAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Please conclude now. We have got to finish the entire discussion within the stipulated time.

DR. R. K. PODDAR: In conclusion, I feel that major formulations of the document are totally unacceptable in a country like ours, dedicated to mass education. As these go against all the basic tenets of the National Education Policy as well as the Kothari Commission. I suggest that a Parliamentary Committee should visit all the States to elicit opinions of the academic community on this document and submit its report within one year for consideration of Parliament.

Thank you, Sir.

DR. LOKESH CHANDRA (Nominated): I would like to begin by congratulating the Minister for presenting a real policy perspective. The document presented is the Status paper entitled 'Challenge of Education—a policy perspective'. It has been rightly termed. To me this perspective paper should really undergo a fundamental change if we are to be in line with what the Minister has just spoken in the floor of the House. One thing that pains me as an academic is that the first thrust of the Status paper has been that education has disapeared from the nomenclature of the Ministry. It has become a Ministry of Human Resources Development. Mass evolved as Home sapiens from Homo erectus and not Homo economicus though that was the medium which the Homo sapiens so exercised.

To me Human resources seems to be a correlate to mineral resources. A question naturally arises whether am I a brother to the mineral? If I am: a walk that has carried me backwards, thousands, of years, me lost in the plethora of geological time.

Am I a resource or a being? To me it is essentially a degradation of the humanism of education.

Well in the major thrust of our discussion of any policy perspective in the field of education stem from the freedom struggle itself. During the *British raj* we were supposed to have two lessons. One was that education oriented employment and the other was the English language. The thrust of the policy perspective is essentially one of education employment interface. A question arises: Is a job-oriented education a guarantee of full employment? Education has become a market of intellectual resources. Now the corrolary to this should we think or imitate? India has perhaps for the first time in this long history of its cultural evolution forgotten to think that she has started the process of imitation. Only yesterday, I raised a question in regard to the hover train to cover the important cities in India. But the Minister very rightly and honestly pointed out that the Railway Board has no material of this type of train, because we do not create. We rather imitate. And we imitate a bit too late. So education has not been an effective thrust of new discoveries. It has been bagged down in the repertoire of theories which may be called the 'bucket theory of mind', the theory that facts drip into the mind like water into a bucket where they accumulate and are called knowledge. But is it a knowledge? It is not. Our educationists failed to respond to new discoveries, to become moving time. It has been purveying information and not acting as a catalyst, a catalyst assisting in intellectual growth that is the *raison d'etre* of real education. Thus education has become irrelevant to the future and we have to import knowhow.

The shoreline of wonder has shrunk, and so the islands of knowledge. Education has failed to dream with open eyes: where reality, nature takes on a new meaning.

Regarding development of human resources, education has primarily not developed its evolution. Man in his long march in biological time has become a *Homo sapien from Homo* erectus. It has been a long organic evolution. Education has two chronicles. Education take us into the future and the future as the Minister rightly pointed out is that very next moment that is something which is very much part of the present—if the present is not concerned with the future—the future really never comes into being. The whole policy perspective is a petrified protection but a never-ending search for new scientific insights to enrich life. I think it is extremely important to see the creative aspect of science. The very fact of the nomenclature of the Ministry of Human Resources Development, we see a process of dehumanisation which is the apocalypse of progress, for creative man lives in a symbolic universe. It is the end of the continuing renewal of time. Their own Paper, as it is presented, does not enshrine the epic of ideas.

We have really to reconceptualise our educational system. The Minister has very rightly pointed out that elementary education has to be universalised. It will primarily be in the nature of communication of information—the three R's and so on. Drop-outs will be a normal feature of this sector of education because the present system of education is carried on in a very unrealistic manner totally unrelated to the social order to which it is being given. In the rural areas, to inject English as a medium of instruction is to deny them the possibility of reaching the heights. This major emphasis on the English language is one of the reasons why many of the rural folk have to drop out. if they want to move, they cannot really move; they have to be static.

[Dr. Lokesh Chandra]

So we have really to reconsider the whole concept of elementary education and, at the same time, as Dr. Foddar rightly pointed out, consider having a common school system. Without that, social justice will be only a dream. And when you talk of social justice, the regional languages, the languages of the place, the languages of particular cultural groups will have to occupy an important place in our elementary educational system.

Now, coming to the higher secondary and university education, the question arises: what is the function of this sector of our education? We have to train teachers, we have to train doctors, engineers, lawyers and what not. Here the medium may perhaps undergo a change, and from the regional we can perhaps go into the international domain because we have to live in a world which is fast shrinking, and in this shrinking world, India's mind has not to shrink; it has to expand. In the entire process, the teacher is the message. What we want is a new star and that new star is the teacher. The quality of the teacher and his working conditions have to be brought to a level where he feels that he is a person who can command respect in society. One of the greatest commentators of the Holy Qoran Al-Qurtubi in 1272 has said:

> "The best of men and the best of all who walk the earth, are the teachers...Use them not as hirelings, lest you wound their spirit."

So the policy projections have to take into account the quality of the teachers and the quality of life which you give to these teachers. They are the jewels of your land.

The professional knowledge and technical education that would be imparted by the higher education schools and colleges will be a part again of the communication of information and the beginning of the world of wonder.

Now I come to another very important question, and that is the teaching ethics. There is no mention in the whole report about the teaching ethics. Thousands and thousands of schools have been set up in the rural areas, and some of them are one-teacher schools and the teachers never go to their schools. As a teacher I can say that with respect to the community to which I belong. And these schools are empty for years on end. Some teaching ethics has to be created, something on the lines of the oath of Hippocrates for the medical profession.

Now coming to the postgraduate level, it has to be a creative education. In this report there is no emphasis on creativity. That is why India always lags behind at least by 20 years. And these 20 years become two centuries in the context of modern times. Whatever is on the drawing-board in the West, in the United States, in the Soviet Union or Japan, will come to us 25 years later, a generation later. We always have designs or technology from the dying-board, not from the drawing-board. To achieve this creativity in our future development, scientific and humanistic, it is essential that it be built into the educational system. The postgraduate education in the university system will have to take into account that creativity is the growing point of our social order. And for this we need self-education after university education—what we call in our tradition "svadhyaya". That has to be an integral part and it has to be built into the ethics of the teaching profession. Advancing the frontiers of the mind seeking the yonder to reach the never-ending beyond has to be the quest and this should be given by education by all the information media. Today the

TV and Radio are geard to very low taste, if not vulgar. And the whole system has to change. Just changing the nomenclature of the Ministry to Ministry of Human Resources Development will not carry us very far unless there is a total integration of the whole system of Government to see that India walks into the 21st century in a creative way and this creativity is one of eternity. Every moment of life, every moment of research, of study, has to be geard to a vision of the future.

Profiles of action: As the Minister has very rightly pointed out about universal elementary education, I would like to add another angle to this profile of action, and that is vocationalisation after Class VIII. The person who gets less than 30 per cent or 40 per cent of marks, when he is admitted to the higher secondary and college education or to the university, is becoming a darwback for the whole system and development of the society as a whole. Vocationalisation is an extremely important element and to understand by vocationalisation work experience is a waste of time. In the former policies work experience replaced intensive training. A person who spends a few hundred hours trying to learn carpentry wastes both the time and the resources of the society and nothing worthwhile comes out. So it is essential that intensive vocationalisation should be a part of the system, and for this linkage with industry is extremely important. The Chinese have developed a new theory a pragmatic theory, the theory of dynamic fluidity, training minds for the next century. In this pre-employment examination to get a job is a pre-requisite and senior middle schools have been converted into vocational schools. Fees are paid by the industry and before they pay the fees the candidate is chosen. They go in for pre-employment examination. I think we will do well to study the Chinese system which has worked with great speed and with great effectiveness.

Higher education: Only students who get 60 per cent or above marks should be permitted to go to post-graduate courses. Persons who get 25 per cent, 35 per cent or 40 per cent marks attend these places of excellenec and convert them into places of non-excellence. So, to convert areas of excellence into areas of non-performance is a social crime, if not an educational crime.

Coming to research, pure and applied research has to be an integral part of our educational system. So far we have tried to emphasise applied research while pure research has languished. I know pure research is long-term dividend bearing. Many years of hard work have to go into it. But then after a decade of hard work pure research becomes the foundation of applied research. In the Status Paper there is no emphasis on pure research, a research where new morals and new universals will emerge. For applied research again a linkage with industry is important. In Lahore when I was a student Dr. S.S Bhatnagar was running the Department of Chemistry and he used to get the problems of industries and solve them as Ph. D. dissertations. The university benefited, the industry developed and in this symbiosis has emerged a very strong Chemistry Department in the University of Lahore, and this led later on to S. S. Bhatnagar himself becoming one of the leading lights of our scientific development. I think I have, in an earlier context, dealt with the matter of rural emphasis in elementary education and abhorrence of elitism particularly in primary education and in higher education. How is elitism expressed? I think a foreign language becomes a very formidable barrier when the mother tongue has to take its place, particularly in the elementary stages of education.

[Dr. Lokesh Chandra]

Foreign medium is to verbalise one's alienation from society and alienation from society is the direction of our response to the social order. Many of those persons who are educated in the English Language-- I do not say all--somehow feel that the linkage has to be to an external land and foreign chance and what not and that is the concomitant of these efforts to see that internationalism has a superior role to play in national affairs. How far this has been a successful experiment, I do not know.

Now, coming to Japan which has succeeded in an admirable way, I would say that the main reason for this is the langauage. The language is the same, whether it is the small mechanic, a minor mechanic or a very great luminary from the university. They converse in the same idiom. Unless there is a common point where we can speak the same idiom, I don't think there would be any possibility of having an egalitarian society.

Diversity of cultures again has to be maintained and I thing this report is not pragmatic on it though the statement of the Minister is a remarkable piece of statement, far better a document for policy considaration than this thick volume.

Now, I come to female literacy. Mother, after all, is the foundation of all human society and, in India, during our freedom struggle, adopted the "Vande Mataram" song. I think that "Vande Mataram" spirit has to be brought in once again and our womenfolk should be given the fullest opportunity for education. Instead of adult literacy, emphasis on female education would be a more proper and important aspect of the new policy.

Diversity of cultures has to be maintained, as I said, and cultural regimentation from the Centre and denying the different States their expressions over the last two thousand years or a thousand years. I do not think, will lead to a very sound educational principle. That also has to be built in into the policy statement.

Well, there were discussions about a uniform curriculum or syllabus. I do not think that a uniform curriculum or syllabous can be brought in. Kirthivas is important in West Bengal; Rabindranath Tagore is important; and in the Hindu areas, Tu'sidas has a tremendous appeal, whether it be in the rural areas or in the urban pockets. So, the entire environment which we are trying to create has to be in the local milieu and to achieve this, may be we can provide some guidelines, but to regiment it as a uniform currimulum or syllabus would be again quite detrimental to the evolution of a creative social order.

Then, education has to be a part of the holistic societal palingenesis where the social order is reborn. In this, all the Ministries have to collaborate including the Ministry of Industry which has a major role to play in the education-employment interface.

Now, let me come to the question of cultural ethos. In the whole of the policy projections, there is no reference to culture as such. India is a land which is totally imbued with culture and the Prime Minister has been emphasising on culture in every one of his speeches during the last four or five weeks. For example, he has said very recently: "Our lesson should be not to chase the materialistic attern, but to concentrate on building the human spirit and developing a complete human being." I think this cultural ethos has to be developed and the cultural ethos is important not only for the value system, but also for the development of science itself. Without a culture, no scientific evolution is possible. In the West, some

scientists have been major vectors of culture. You might all be knowing about Robert Oppenheimer. I had some correspondence with his when he was alive. He was deeply interested in the 'Bhagavad' Gita and his first experiment began with a *sloka* from the Gita. He was a scientist who perhaps was showing the same dedication as a person who is embued with a cultural feeling.

Another point which I would like to be built into the policy is that we should make all students models of *Karma Yoga*. Students should work more on an apprenticeship basis, acquiring particular skills because skills are more important than theoretical formulations. An Institute of Applied Change can be a place where academics could intermesh with the body of society. And with the planners and the Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Please try to conclude. You have already.....

DR. LOKESH CHANDRA: Okay.

There is in the modern mind a growing wonder at the baffling depth and immensity of the perspectives being opened up by science, and a growing sense that they are somewhat grasped together with in a supremely intelligible context having more dimensions than space-time-a context which man is perpetually engaged in reconstructuring from the glimpses afforded him by the play between reality and understanding. And it is here where culture and science become integral partners in future advance. So India has to take into consideration not what has been, what is today, what has to be, but also formulate creative ideas for the future, so that we can say with the world:

> Yesterday the idea was mine, today it's yours, and tomorrow it will belong to the whole world.

SHRI ALAPI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Maximum "the foundation of every State is the education of youth" needs no explanation. So the paramount responsibility of Government is to formulate the education policy so as to harness the intellectual capacity of the students and mould their character for the development of the country. Darkness of our country could be removed not by power lights but by the lamp of learning and wisdom. That is why the Kothari Commission promptly said, "Destiny of India is now being shaped in her class room".

To have a radical change and vast improvement in University education, a Commission was ordered in 1948. Then the Centre set up the Secondary Education Commission in 1952 to examine and suggest for its reorganisation and improvement.

In 1964 under the chairmanship of Dr. Kothari, the Education Commission was ordered to advise the Government on national pattern of education and policy for development in all stages.

Apart from obtaining reports and recommendations from experts through these Commissions, a Committee of Members of Parliament was instituted in 1967 to prepare the drafts of Statement on National Policy on Education for the consideration of the Centre. Then a Resolution on National Policy on Education was passed in Parliament in 1968. Now we are taking one more step in pursuance of national policy with renewed objectives.

It is not inappropriate or lethargic to remind how we have wasted nearly 20 years in Wardah Education which was formulated by Gandhiji in 1937 and was compelled subsequently after independence by the Centre to be introduced in all schools. Fortunately, educationalists brought back the

SHRI ALADI ARUNA ALIAS V. ARUNACHALAM

derailed train of system and helped the department to run on right track.

If we analyse all the reports and recommendations of various commissions and policy statements of the Centre, we could see some common features such as eradication of illiteracy, improvement of educational quality, introduction of three-language formula, emphasis on moral education, impartation of science and technology and increased needs of vocational courses and requirement of facilities for teaching community and institutions.

Though I totally disagree with our Government on three-language formula, I would like to know what was done by the Centre for the execution of these recommendations. To what extent has it helped the States in their execution? What is the allocation of grant to States in the Plan and in the Central Budget? The Central Government has not done anything appreciable for their improvement. But expenditure on education is a little more than 3 per cent of gross national product of our country. It is 6 to 8 per cent in other countries. That is why the Kothari Commisison strongly recommended that 6 per cent of the gross national product of our country must be spent on education. So far, the Government has not come forward to implement its recommendations.

It was assured in Swaraj Constitution by the Congress in 1927 that all citizens of India would have a right to free elementary education. Because of this assurance, while drafting the Constitution, Article 45 in Part IV was incorporated assuring free compulsory education to all students within 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution. Even after 35 years of the commencement of the Constitution, we are not honouring that article. The article which is very vital for the development of the country is kept as a dead letter. If you take the percentage of illiteracy in India, it is as high as 63 per cent. The enrolment at primary level is 92 per cent, but at the middle school level it has been reduced to 53 per cent. So, the drop-out rate is 39 per cent. If we work out the average attendance of the students in primary schools, it would be less than 75 per cent. As far as middle schools are concerned, it is less than 48 per cent.

No committee failed to emphasise the importance and need of creating facilities for vocational courses. Out of 17 million students who have enrolled in secondary education, only 55,000 students are getting the facilities for studying vocational courses in secondary schools I am proud to say that out of 50,000 students, more than 40,000 students are in Tamil Nadu. That is why I say that there is lack of implementation of these things. The objectives projected by various commissions have not been fulfilled.

Some of our friends are still proud of our national policy. In fact, we have not risen to the occasion In addition to teaching science and technology, history, geography and other subjects, have we ever taken steps to teach the students about a classless society? Have you ever taken steps to teach socialism to the students. "Socialism is a creed which I love with my head and heart." There are the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We have failed to teach socialism. Have we prepared any syllabus to teach secularism to the students at school level? The very tenet of secularism is interpreted in a peculiar way by our leaders. Secularism has been defined as non-religion or even as anti-religion. But we think that secularism means supporting all religions. This interpretation is nowhere available in any encyclopaedia or dictionary...

Now, the Government has proposed to open Central Schools in every dis-

trict. Sir, it is going to be helpful only to the affluent classes in urban areas because you are going to select the students on merit. If the Government is very serious about these Central Schools, may I suggest that they should ask the State Governments to select one of their schools in a district to be a centre of excellence so that you can avoid unnecessary expenditure in infra-structure? Thereby, you can save money and spend that money for increasing the quality of education. If the Government sticks to the policy of opening its own schools, then I have to say that the medium of instruction in these schools must be the regional language of the respective State. Otherwise, I would say that you are taking steps to impose Hindi through the backdoor on non-Hindi States. I have to put it on record that we are not for the Three-Language Formula. We are strongly opposed to the Three-Language Formula. We follow only the two-language formula that was introduced by Dr. Anna in 1967. Sir, because of the two-language formula, we are able to increase our knowledge in science and technology and create a good link at the national level and even at the internation level. But we know well that some of the States still follow a single language formula. It is left to them. But as far as we are concerned, we are for the two-language formula. Sir, some of our friends ask the question: Why do you oppose studying a particular language? We have to answer this question. Sir, it may be different in out look. But I have to say that we have no objection to study any language. We can even study Hebrew, even Latin or Greek. Studying a language is an asset to the student. It is an inflow into the reservoir of mind But as far as Hindi is concerned, it is not a question of studying a language. As rightly pointed out by Dr. Anna, it is a question of accepting the domination of Hindi, it is a question of recognising the Hindi imperialism. That is why we are opposing Hindi as the only official language of this Union. Sir, we will fight unto the last drop of our blood, we will never compromise in this matter till Tamil is accepted as one of the official languages of this Union.

Now, Sir, I would raise a basic point regarding the powers of the Centre. Sir. Education is a Concurrent subject Earlier, during the British period, it was included in the State List. Then an attempt was made by great people like Abul Kalam Azad and others to transfer the subject during the drafting of the Constitution from State List to the Councurrent List. But their attempt was thwarted by the founding-fathers of the Constitution Unfortunately, during the period of emergency, it was transferred from the State List to the Concurrent List. That is why now the Center begins to dictate the policy to the States. The object of the Centre, as I fear, is not to promote science and tschnology, not to help the States, not to share the burden with the States, but instead to destroy the niceties of our diversities and regional identity. That is the object of the Government. That has been clearly mentioned in the statement on the National Education Policy.

Sir, we know well that some of our friends are against regionalism. But Sir, national loyalty does not demand to eliminate regional loyalty. These are the words of the States' Reorganisation Report. Sardar Panicker has mentioned like this. So, nowhere regionalism is aganist nationalism. Our nationalism is based on regionalism. But some of our friends are strongly opposing this. (*Interruptions*) What we interpret as regionalism may be different from what you interpret Sir, if you say that regionalism is dangerous and it is evil to the country. then, I have to say that even nationism is also evil, as has been said by so many eminent people. With your permission, Sir, I quote:

[SHRI ALADI ARUNA ALIAS V. ARUNACHALAM]

"Nationalism is undoubtedly the most dangerous vice of our time—far more dangerous than drunkenness or drugs or commercial dishonesty, or any of the other vices against which a conventional moral education is directed. All who are capable of a survey of the modern world are aware that, owing to nationalism, the continuance of a civilised way of life is in jeopardy."

Sir, these are not the words of separatists. These are the words of the great philosopher, Bertrand Russell. Don't think that I am sharing his opinion. I am quite against his opinion. I am for Indian nationalism which recognises the identity of the States, which recognises the grandeur of the diversity. We are not against nationalism. Therefore, I appeal to the Minister not to impose Hindi in the name of national policy, and secondly not to destroy the grandeur of diversities and the regional identity in the name of national unity, not to sow the seed of disintegration by adopting an over-centralised policy.

With these words, I conclude my speech

SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK (Haryana): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Challenge of Education—A Policy Perspective, is a document which, to my mind, does not need any criticism. What is expected in the national debate is what real work the nation requires for the future training of children to make them useful persons for the society in the 21st century. Keeping this thing in view and having some basic assumptions to be true like socialist attitude, democratic ideas, scientific temper and secular ethos and moral values ingrained, keeping these things in view, I would like to analyse what scheme of things, what infrastructure should be provided so that we may have better students coming out of the schools of the higher secondary classes and the universities to make this nation not only richer and stronger but also one of the best in the whole world.

The entire educational framework can be divided into pre-primary stage and primary stage, number one. Secondly, the secondary stage and thirdly, the university stage. For these three different sections of the educational scheme of things I would like to discuss one by one, considering all the aspects like environment, the type of students, the infrastructure which we have at the present moment and the tools of the trade.

Pre-primary stage and the primary stage is to be discussed in that light. Sir, at the present moment, we are burdened with deficiencies in all these aspects of the pre-primary and primary education. I accept that there are single-teacher schools, I accept that there will be no black-boards in schools. I accept that there will be no rooms in schools. Keeping all these things and constraints in my mind, we have to consider what should be the scheme of things so that there is 100 per cent non-drop-outs so that there is no necessity after 5 or 10 years for adult education at all. The first thing is what is the syllabus for the pre-primary and primary classes. Is it interesting to retain the attention of the students or to retain the students in the class itself? Secondly, about the teacher. Is he fully qualified and fit enough to keep the students glued to him for further knowledge or gain or for learning of the three arts? And, lastly, the school building and the school compound.

When we are considering these aspects, Sir, our society, as it is divided into 80 per cent villages, 10 per

cent very good towns and 10 per cent so-called towns. In very good towns also there are slums. If we keep all these things in view, I am sorry to say that we have got a number of types of schools prevalent at the present moment which, if we allow to go on, will not be able to deliver the goods we desire. My submission, Sir, is that in the matter of pre-primary education and primary education we should have some uniformity of syllabi, of facilities for the schools and of the teachers' excellence. A single-teacher school is a disgrace to the nation. Earlier it is abolished or superseded. *the better it is and I can assure you* that unless you do it, no education system will be successful in the country. Here again, I may remind this House that most of the students —80 per cent of them—come across primary teachers and high-school and higher-secondary school teachers. One set of school teachers is JB-trained; the other set of school teachers is B. Ed or B.T. teachers. What is the training content of these two classes of teachers? It is something which must be pondered over at this stage and if we can take care to see that they are given the best training to train the young kids, I believe half the battle will be won. This ill-trained teacher is a present fact of society which we have to remove. There are teachers in thousands which at the present moment are working in different schools. They cannot be given entirely a new set of coaching consisting of two years' duration. What I suggest is that all the present teachers should be given a reorientation course of the duration of one month or two months and at the end of it, graduation should be awarded. They should be awarded graduation marks and then should be allowed to coach the new syllabi and allowed to teach new courses which we would like to introduce at the pre-primary and primary stages. If we take care of it, I think we can achieve our aim.

In addition to the new syllabi, I suppose, in addition to 3 hours coaching, use of hands or respect for manual labour should be taught at the primary stage to the students. The biggest drawback of the present education system is that it is a white-collar system of education where the values for hand labour or respect for manual labour is absolutely absent, practically absent. This can be assessed and watched when we see our engineers supervising the actual work of erection of machineries, or the electrical engineers supervising the working of the machines without touching them at all. I feel that an entirely new pathos has to be created by *emphasising the need and respect* for manual labour. I want to introduce it for one more purpose. The biggest drawbacks in the education system leading to dropouts is that the parents in the village have got one idea which is prevalent at the moment and that is that after the child passes higher secondary school, he will leave the village, leave the farms, the fields and migrate to a town or a big city in search of a job and this idea is embedded in their minds throughout the country... (*Time bell rings*). I may have your indulgence for some time more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): I quite appreciate but the time is limited and it was said that nobody should take more than ten minutes.

SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK: I don't think I will get another chance. Anyway, I will hurry up.

So Sir, he has the impression and rightly so, and this impression has to be removed from his mind. Therefore, useful things should 2.00 P.M. be taught in the primary stage, useful in the sense that he is able to lend a helping hand to the family. If education leads to an increase in his emoluments either

[Shri M. P. Kaushik]

by working in his own field or by taking some side job, if we can make a person fit for that, then, I think, everybody will be interested and the question of drop-outs will automatically drop out.

As far as the post-primary stage is concerned, I feel, vocational education should be made compulsory for all students irrespective of the income of the parents. In regard to the high-school education, I have only one thing to say. We have got a number of these so-called convent schools or public schools. They have got definitely better environment, better facilities and they charge exhorbitant fees. There are also quite a good number of the neo-rich people who are prepared to pay more. My suggestion is that, these so-called public schools should be asked to compulsorily enrol at least 50 per cent of poorer students who have no money, who cannot afford education in these schools. They should be admitted in the sixth class or even in other classes on merit. I do not say that they should be admitted if they do not deserve it. But on merit, they should be admitted and the entire expenses in this regard should be borne by the schools themselves, that is, by the parents whose wards are reading in these schools. If we can have this socialistic concept in education, I have no objection in retaining these schools. If a society cannot think of it, the earlier these so-called public schools are closed, the better it is, because, we cannot have socialism by having two different types of schools, by having two different types of persons having two different types of thinking which will ultimately lead to a class war, class conflict which India, in the 21st Century, cannot afford.

In regard to the higher-secondary education, I also feel that the courses should be of such type that it should be the terminal stage. The higher-secondary stage should be the terminal stage. We need not go in for degree courses at all, for our young people to enter different walks of life, except in some specialised fields like medicine, engineering and some other fields requiring higher learning. Only when we are able to percolate the higher-secondary system higher-secondary courses with the knowledge, type of knowledge, being presently imparted in degree courses, the question of delinking degrees from jobs should be considered. We have to prepare our young men, fit enough to enter different walks of life, for a little bit of hard work and, for this, if one is not prepared at the higher-secondary stage, then, the question of delinking degrees from jobs should not be considered at all. Rather, the linking of degrees to jobs should become a basic necessity as it is in the present system.

As far as language is concerned, it is an accepted fact that up to the higher-secondary stage, regional language is the only language which is the demand of the time, the requirement of the day, and it is absolutely essential for the proper development of the student's mind. I accept it. It should be. But Sir, the world is shrinking. International scientific terminology has to be understood even by our post-primary students, if we want to create the scientific temper in the minds of the people. For this, I feel, English along with the Official Language, Hindi, should be introduced at the stage of seventh class or eighth class to be read by those sections of students for whom they are not the mother-tongue. For Hindi region people, to satisfy my friends in the South, one of the southern languages should be taught along with the English at this stage. I may mention here that the biggest casualty maker in educational field is English lan-

guage as far as people round about me in the villages are concerned and, therefore, I feel that a working knowledge alone is necessary for teaching of English. English literature may be left to those scholars who wish to study the English language for other subjects and this should be done when they pass out from the higher secondary stage. In this way, we will be eliminating dropouts and we will be doing good service for the coming generation, creating a scientific temper and preparing our young men and women for entering 21st century with their heads high. (*Time Bell rings*). Here I may mention about university education. I think a more number of universities are required in this vast land of ours. The function of the UGC should be all pervasive, I agree. My contention is that interference of other State Governments or Central Government in the domain of the university is highly undesirable. Education is a concurrent subject. We have created certain autonomous bodies for higher education, like UGC, for medical study, for engineering studies and we should be fair enough to give them a chance to run these institutions, not on party lines, not on sectarial lines, not on regional lines, not on provincial lines but on national lines. If we can accept that, I think the reasons for conflict will evaporate altogether.

It is my humble submission to all that education being of national importance should be given a national consideration, should be looked at from national angle and not taken as a regional or sectarian aspect.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): It has already been 18 minutes. I have been asked not to allow more than ten minutes.

SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK: Just five minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: No, no. I can give only one minute more. Ultimately, towards the end you will be sitting in my place and it will be very difficult for yourself to manage. Just state the points.

SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK: Capitation fee should be abolished. It is a disgrace to the society. Favouritism should not be allowed to percolate in the realms of higher education of all types in colleges and institutions. Applied research may not be encouraged in the universities but pure research is a must, because applied research depends upon pure research and for pure research university is the only place where it may be profitably carried out.

With these few suggestions, I would like to submit that this new policy may be framed keeping in view the realities and constraints which we have at the present moment.

डा० बापू कालदाते (महाराष्ट्र) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, शिक्षा की चुनौती शिक्षा नीति के परिप्रेक्ष्य में जो किताब है, जितना हो सकता है उतनी गहराई से मैंने उसको पढ़ने का प्रयास किया और सारी किताब पढ़ने के बाद मुझे लगा कि यह किताब डाइगनोसिस तो ठीक कर रही है लेकिन चिकित्सा की कोई बात नहीं कर रही है यह कोई अच्छे डाक्टर के लक्षण नहीं है। हम चाहते हैं आपको कि आपने क्या कहा है।

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : डाक्टर तो आप है।

डा० बापू कालदाते : इसीलिये मुझे यह लगा।

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : आपको बीमार नहीं बनाना चाहते, अच्छा डाक्टर बनाना चाहते है।

डा० बापू कालदाते : इस किताब में जो पहले तीन चेप्टर है ...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आप हिन्दी में बोल रहे है, इसके लिये बधाई ।

डा० वापू कालदाते : इन सारे चेप्टरों में आपने अच्छा अनालिसिस किया है, अच्छा विश्लेषण करने का प्रयास किया है । लेकिन अंतिम चरण में जब आप एक नये परिपेक्ष्य और नये दर्शन और नई दार्शनिकता पर गये और इस दार्शनिकता को ध्यान में रखते हुए जो सुझाव देने का प्रयास करते हैं तब हमको लगता है कि ये सुझाव बहुत कम महत्व के हैं या कुछ सुझाव ऐसे भी आ रहे है जो आपकी दार्शनिकता को दबायेंगे, ऊपर नहीं ले जायेंगे । मैं इसमें से जो पांच-छः सवाल आपने इस किताब में उठाये हैं, जो बड़ा स्पष्टता से उठाये हैं उनको मैं नोटिस के रूप में आपके सामने पेश करता हूं । इसमें मैं आंकड़ों के ज्यादा जंजाल में नहीं जाऊंगा क्योंकि जो आंकड़े आपके मंत्रालय के लोगों ने बनाये हैं वह आपने भी पढ़े हैं । जो चार-पांच सवाल आपने इसके विश्लेषण में उठाये हैं उनमें एक यह था कि शिक्षा नीति में, शिक्षा से संबंधित जनजीवन में शिक्षा के स्तर को ऊंचा उठाना, विज्ञान और टेक्नालाजी के विकास के लिये शिक्षा पर बल देना और नैतिक तथा सामाजिक मूल्यों को बढ़ावा देने से था । लेकिन इन लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति कुल मिलाकर नहीं हो पाई है । नम्बर दो यह भी स्वीकार किया गया है कि शिक्षा नीति में सामाजिक दार्शनिकता का अभाव है और इससे सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में और रोजगार के लिये सार्थक योग्य कार्यकुशलता प्राप्त करने के लिये छात्रों के मार्ग में रुकावट आई है । इस बीच में कालेज या स्कूल छोड़ने वालों की संख्या ५५ प्रतिशत रही है और इस कारण शिक्षण संस्थाओं में दाखिला लेने वालों की संख्या के कोई मायने नहीं रह जाते हैं ।

श्री घन श्याम सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह सब हमने पढ़ लिया है ।

डा० बापू कालदाते : आप पढ़ चुके है, ठीक है, लेकिन मैं अपने लिये पढ़ रहा हूं आपके लिये नहीं ।

अगर शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में यही स्थिति बनी रही और जैसा आप कहते है कि 2000 वर्ष में भारत में 500 दस लक्ष अशिक्षित व्यक्ति होंगे, जबकि स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के समय शिक्षित व्यक्ति की संख्या 300 दस लाख थी और 1981 में 437 दस लक्ष थी । अन्य और दो-चार हैं लेकिन क्योंकि आप कहते हैं कि हमने पढ़ा है, इसलिये इसको मानकर उसे मैं छोड़ता हूं । सवाल यह है कि जो विश्लेषण किया कि क्या समग्र दृष्टि हमारी होनी चाहिए और इसके लिये शिक्षा के संबंध में तीन-चार बुनियादी सिद्धान्त कहे गये हैं उसकी इकट्ठी बात आपके सामने करूंगा । भारत में, यह कहा गया कि शिक्षा संस्कार है । लेकिन आप भी जानते है और मैं भी जानता हूं कि आचार-विहीन शिक्षा संस्कार शून्य बनाती है । जिस शिक्षा के पीछे कोई आचार नहीं है उससे शिक्षा संस्कार शून्य बनता है । यह हालत हमारी आज की शिक्षा पद्धति की है । पहला सवाल हम लोगों के सामने यह होता है कि हम लोग आचार-विहीन नहीं बल्कि आचार सक्षम शिक्षा इस ढंग से दे जिससे बुनियादी तौर से वे ऊपर उठ सकें और एक अच्छा जीवन स्तर किसी हद तक हम लोगों को दे सकें । यह जो संस्कार हम करना चाहते हैं ये संस्कार किस लिये करना चाहते हैं ? इसके लिये अंग्रेजी में एक वाक्स है ।

What is education? The aim of education is to adduce, to draw out the personality.

व्यक्ति के व्यक्तित्व का समुचित विकास हो यही हमारी शिक्षा का लक्ष्य होना चाहिए । संस्कार इसलिये कि उसका व्यक्ति उभर जाय, उसके व्यक्तित्व में संस्कार पैदा हो । जिस बीज के ऊपर

संस्कार बनाते हैं, जिससे नया पौधा तैयार होता है, फलता-फूलता है, छाया देता है, आनन्द देता है, तृप्ति देता है, ऐसे एक समूचे जीवन का वृक्ष फले जिससे एक नया व्यक्ति उभर कर आ जाये।

There is one more definition for this. इसके लिए क्या दिया जाए, What is education? Education is a process of socialization. And what is socialization? Socialization is to make the citizen an effective member of the society.

शिक्षा एक समाजीकरण की प्रक्रिया है जिससे कि जो व्यक्तित्व निकल कर आएगा वह समाज का एक सक्षम प्रभावी सहयोगी पार्टनर बन सके। यह सहयोगी प्रभावी पार्टनर बनाने की जो प्रक्रिया हम चला रहे है, यह किस माध्यम से चले, कैसे चले, किस के लिए हो, उसकी प्रेरणा क्या हो, उसका लक्ष्य क्या हो? इसके लिए एक बात का ख्याल रखना चाहिये। बार-बार चरित्र की बात उठाई जाती है। जब हम चरित्र की बात करते हैं तब आम तौर पर मैं कैसे बैठता हूं, मैं खाना क्या खाता हूं, कौन सी प्रार्थना करता हूं, किस मन्दिर में जाता हूं, 10 दफा जाता हूं, पांच दफा जाता हूं, गले में माला पहनता हूं या नहीं पहनता हूं यह सब बातें हैं जिन से हम चरित्र की परख करते हैं।

What is character? Character is not the sum total of different patterns of behaviour. It is the driving force which motivates your life. That is character. What is the driving force of todoy's society, Sir?

जो संस्कार हम करना चाहते हैं जो व्यक्तित्व हम उभार कर लाना चाहते हैं, जो इफेक्टिव मैम्बर आफ दी सोसायटी बनाना चाहते है, यह इसके लिए बनाना चाहते हैं कि देश में इसके जीवन में में एक ऐसी नयी ड्राइविंग फोर्स हो जो उसके जीवन को गति दे। आज के समाज की क्या धारा है, क्या प्रेरणा है, जो समाज को गति देती है। शिक्षा को जो प्राप्ति है उसका असर क्या हो रहा है, जो समाज की प्रक्रिया चल रही है वह तो सारे व्यापारीकरण के नये मूल्यों के सिद्धान्त बनते जा रहे हैं।

All the values that have been inculcated in the society are commercial values. There is no value for the perspective change nor is there a value in the society with a fire and fervour which will change the society in a really secular and socialistic manner.

क्या करें, इस बात का कैसे मुकाबले करें आप भी जानते हैं, हम भी जानते हैं इस दृष्टि से सोसायटी में आज जिस तरह का व्यापारीकरण चल रहा है, नफा नुकसान पर बना हुआ है, न इन्सानियत को देखा जाए, न पड़ोसियों को देखा जाए, न किसी को देखा जाए, सेल्फ सेंटर्ड व्यक्ति हो उसका व्यक्ति-अनुग्रहीन जीवन हो। यह जो आज धारणा है, यह धारणा कभी भी किसी समाज को एक नयी दिशा देने में नयी प्रेरणा देने में सक्षम नहीं बनेगी। हमारे सामने सवाल यह है कि इन धारणाओं को खत्म करने के लिए हम कौन से उपाय सुझा सकते हैं? पुरानी कोठारी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में क्या कहा गया, उनमें कितने पैसे देने के लिए कहा गया, इसमें नहीं जाना चाहता हूं। मैं इसमें इसलिए नहीं जाना चाहता हूं, कि यह बातें कई लोगों ने उठाई हैं। मेरे सामने जो सवाल है वह इस संदर्भ में बिलकुल साफ है? मेरे दो तीन सवाल हैं जिनके बारे में मैं आपके सामने सुझाव पेश करना चाहता हूं। मैं मानता हूं। इन सुझावों को पेश करने से पहले दो तीन बातों की तरफ आपका ध्यान खींचना आवश्यक है। मुझे बड़ा दुख हुआ है एक रजनीतिक कार्यकर्ता होने के नाते और एक सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता होने के नाते भी क्योंकि आपके इस परिपेक्ष्य में आपकी किताब के फोर्थ चेप्टर में अनुच्छेद 4.27 में लिखा गया है।

[श्री घनश्याम सिंह]

"शिक्षक को राजनीति से अलग रखना एक लोकप्रिय विचार है। यदि यह पारित हो जाए तो अनेक राजनीतिक दलों का कैडर समाप्त हो जाएगा और उन्हें यह मालूम नहीं हो जाएगा कि वे चुनाव लड़ने और प्रदर्शनों, विरोध प्रदर्शनों तथा जलूसों में शामिल होने के लिए अपेक्षित आदमी कहां से पाएंगे।"

आपने यह जो लिखा है इस किताब में इसके लिए मुझे बड़ा अफसोस है। क्या यह लोग नहीं जानते हैं कि आज सियासत ने धर्म का स्थान ले लिया है। हमारे जीवन के सारे विधि निषेध राजनीतिक दलों के जरिये जो शासन चलता है उससे ही तय होते हैं। भले ही कोई यह कहे हम से न छूने को, हमें अछूत मानने का प्रयास करे, लेकिन यह स्पष्ट है, कि सियासत सारे जीवन को छू रही है। इसमें यह लिखना मुझे उचित नहीं लगता है। क्या सारे सियासती दल शिक्षकों के ऊपर ही अपना कैडर बना कर चलते है, क्या यह बात ठीक है कि सियासती दलों के लिए? सियासती दल के आप मन्त्री होने के नाते जो किताब हमारे सामने आती है उसमें यह लिखा जाए कि राजनीतिक दलों के यह कैडर होते हैं, कैडर खत्म हो जायेंगे। अगर इसका मतलब यह होता है कि धीरे-धीरे शिक्षकों को राजनैतिक जीवन से अस्पृष्य अलग रखने का प्रयास चलेगा—बार बार कहा जाता है कि राजनीति से कर्मचारियों को अलग रखिए, राजनीति से विद्यार्थियों को अलग रखिए, राजनीति से प्रोफेसर्स को अलग रखिए तो राजनीति में कौन रहे। वोट देने वाले तो वही हैं। यह जो सिनिकल एप्रोच है सियासत के बारे में यह किसी भी लोकतांत्रिक समाज व्यवस्था के लिए खतरनाक है, यह बात मैं आपको स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूं।

This cynicism leads to, and breeds, dictatorial tendencies in the country.

सब ऐसे लोग हैं तो किनके हाथ चला जाये, हमारे हाथ में चला जाये शायद ऐसे लोग बैठे होंगे आपकी किताब लिखते समय और उनकी नजर में यही नजरिया होगा कि इन सब लोगों को सियासत से हटाकर उन्ही लोगों के हाथ में सियायत चली जाये, मैं इसका खुलकर विरोध करता हूं। मैं चाहता हूं कि सियासत को ऐसी नजर से देखने वालों को भी आपको शिक्षा देने की जरूरत है। ऐसा मैं मानता हूं। इस पर मेरे आक्षेप हैं जो मैंने आपके सामने रखे हैं।

इस किताब में मैंने एक बात और देखी है और वह बात है कि जो जन संचरण के नये माध्यम आये हैं इनकी प्रभाविता के बारे में आपने कितनी गहराई से सोचा है, इसका कोई अनुमान मुझे इस किताब से नहीं लगा (समय की घंटी) Two, theree, four minutes. Just now I am coming.

टाफ्लर की जो "थर्ड वेव" नाम की किताब है, उसमें इसका बहुत अच्छा विश्लेषण किया गया है मैं वह सारा नहीं कहूंगा लेकिन उन्होंने जो शब्द कहे "इट इज वर्थ" It is an explosion of atmosphere.

जन संचरण का उत्पात हुआ है, सिर्फ प्रसारण नहीं हुआ है उसका परिस्फोट हो गया है। This atmosphere which is exploded is carried through this media, the so-called TV. radio and all these things. These are the media, to control and condition the minds of the people.

मैं आपको मजाक की बात नहीं कहूंगा। आप जिस इलाके मराठवाड़े से आते हैं उसी की अगल बगल के आप और हम हैं, मैं बहुत देहाती हूं। हम गये थ हमारे क्षेत्र में। आप जानते हैं कि हर बुधवार को श्रीलंका रेडियो से बिनाका गीत [illegible] जाता

मनोरंजन की चीज नहीं है। उनका माल ग्राहकों पर ठूसने का एक जरिया एक माध्यम है। इसमें कहा जाता है, एक कथा है, लड़की के साथ लड़का बात करता है। लड़की कहती है कि अरे आपके मुंह से तो बदबू आने लगी है, लड़का पूछता है क्या किया जाये, "तो विनाका टूथपेस्ट इस्तेमाल किया जाये।" अब हम देखते हैं कि जिस देहात में मैं रहता हूं उस देहात के लड़के भी जिनको दंत मंजन लगाने की आदत नहीं है, शायद उनके ख्याल में होगा कि अगर हम विनाका टूथपेस्ट इस्तेमाल करें तो शायद हमें भी कोई लड़की मिलेगी, हालांकि उनकी शादी तो उनके परिवार के कारण होने वाली है। What are the media creating? The problem of the developing countries is inflation of expectations. These are the media. If you do not control them properly, the inflation of expectations will go high, and the reality of life would be too bad and harsh for them to face it.

आज हम देखते हैं कि शिक्षा के बाद लोग सक्षम नहीं बनते हैं, शिक्षा के बाद युवर ओर्वाडियंट सर, यहां नौकरी दीजिए, वहां नौकरी दीजिए, यह होता है। इसका एक कारण है कि हम अपेक्षा बहुत ऊंची रख रहे हैं पर वास्तविक जीवन स्तर बहुत नीचे हुआ है।

How are you going to meet these problems? Are you going to control them?

अब देखिए, आपके टी० वी० पर जो एडवर्टाईजमेंटस में देखते हैं, कभी कभी समय मिलता है, उसमें टूथपेस्ट, पाउडर्स, डिटरजेंट, कपड़े यह सब आप के मन पर ठूंसने के लिए अलग-अलग तरीह की चीजें हैं

Are you going to control them?

क्या आपने इनके बारे में कुछ सोचा है। एक तरफ कामर्शियल रेडियो चलाते है, टी० वी० चलाते है दूसरी तरफ संस्कार की बात करते हैं कि एक नया जीवन मूल्य बनेगा।

I tell you, these media are more effective than schools, than families, than any media of *sanskar.*

संस्कार के सारे साधनों से यह प्रभावी है। मैंने दुनिया का संदर्भ में थोड़ा अभ्यास किया है।

What are the effects of T. V. on the younger generation? I must tell you with what they are faced should not be faced by us. We must learn lessons from those people. We must avoid the mistakes which are not expected from us. If we do that then we will be the worst sufferers in this country.

अब एक-दो बातें रह गई है। एक बात मैं साफ कह देना चाहता हूं कि मैं सिर्फ शिक्षा की सार्वत्रिकता के पक्ष में नहीं हूं। मैं शिक्षा की समानता के पक्ष में हूं। अब शिक्षा की असमानता हमारे देश में शुरू से हो जाती है, आंगनवाड़ी से लेकर अंत तक और एक दफा शुरू से ही-अगर असमान हो जाती है, तो पूरी असमानता इतनी दूर तक फैल जाती है कि इसके जरिए आप एक नए वर्ग को जन्म देते हैं।

आपने ही लिखा है कि आठवीं तक 100 में से 23 बच्चे सिर्फ रह जाते हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि 77 फीसदी आठवीं के पहले कम हो जाते हैं।

They are totally cut off from the knowledge as well as the opportunity.

ज्ञान से नहीं, लेकिन सुविधा से भी उनको हटा दिया जाता है और इनको हटाने का एक बड़ा भारी इस देश में —जिसको मराठी में "कट" कहते हैं, साजिश चल रही है कि यह जो गरीब लोग हैं, इनके बच्चे मुख्य धारा में न आ जायें। आरक्षण के विरोध में तो खूब लोग बोलते हैं कि आरक्षण बंद कर देना चाहिए। इतने साल हो गये—

Whether public schools are not re-

(श्री घन श्याम सिंह)

served schools? Is it not an 'arakshan'?

यह क्या बात है। हमारे देश में गरीब लोगों के आरक्षण के खिलाफ खूब बोला जाता है, पर पैसे वालों के आरक्षण के खिलाफ हम बहुत कम बोलते हैं।

It is creating a new class like Djilas has said.

जिलास ने ऐसा लिखा है कि कोई भी डिक्टेटोरियल व्यवस्था जब तैयार होती है, तो उसमें से एक नया क्लास पैदा होता है।

मैं साफ कह देना चाहता हूं कि शिक्षा सार्वत्रिक हो, शिक्षा समान हो और समान शिक्षा के लिए आवश्यक है—जिसको पब्लिक कहते हैं वह सही माने में "प्राइवेट" है। हमको तो कभी-कभी आश्चर्य लगता है—

What is a public school? It is a private school. They are the dens of arrogance. They are the dens of hypocrisy. They are the dens of self-centred new class in this country. They have already captured the money. They want to capture the power. These breeding rounds of arrogance, hypocrisy and self-centreism is not going to create any seculiarism and socialism in this country.

इसको तुरन्त खत्म किया जाए। इसको रखने की कोई ज्यादा जरूरत नहीं है।

Last point. Sir, I am mainly in favour of neighbourhood schools which are envisaged by Kothari Commission. I am very much in favour of open schools.

मैं तो यह कहूंगा और आपको मिसाल दूंगा—आप जानते हैं कि अरुणाई वाघ जिनका बड़ा सत्कार यहीं हुआ, जो आदिवासी जिलों में काम करने वाली वृद्ध महिला है, मैं उनके पास थाने जिले में गया था।

And she has started this idea of open schools.

ओपन युनिवर्सिटी की बात तो आप छोड दीजिए, जब तक स्कूल ही ठीक नहीं रहेंगे तो युनिवर्सिटी में क्या होने वाला है। वही लोग गिने-चुने हुए जिनके पास पैसा है, वहां चलते रहेंगे। बुद्धिमत्ता थोड़ी पैसा ज्यादा। एग्जामिनेशन के बारे में आप कुछ भी कहें, मेरी भी पत्नी प्रोफेसर है। मैं जानता हूं कि क्या हो सकता है एग्जामिनेशन में। तो मैं इसके लिए ज्यादा नुक्ताचीनी नहीं करना चाहता।

There is an open school. She had started that idea.

आदिवासियों के लड़के वहां आते हैं, जब चाहें तब पढ़ते हैं, जितना चाहें, जो विषय चाहें, वह पढ़ते हैं।

अगर यह बात हम शुरू कर देते हैं, तो जो गाय के पीछे घूमने वाला गुरा किया है, या जो दिन भर खटने वाला खेत मजदूर है, उसको भी यह अवसर मिलेगा कि मैं भी कुछ करूं।"

हमने उनसे कहा कि क्या आप इम्तहान की बात कुछ सोच रहे हैं, क्या रेकोग्निशन आपको सरकार दे रही है। न रेकोग्निशन है, न कुछ, लेकिन—

Knowledge is enough not the certificates.

अगर उनके हाथ में ज्ञान हो आए, अगर वे सक्षम बने, तो आपके सर्टिफिकेट की उसको कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। वह समाज में उचित ढंग से काम करेगा।

मैं चाहता हूं कि इस बात को आप अपने अधिकारियों के माध्यम से देखें और ओपन स्कूल की तरफ आप ज्यादा ध्यान देने की बात करें। (समय की घंटी)

Regarding universities, I want to say something about U.G.C. U.G.C. is becoming a white elephant.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): I always thought it was your last point.

DR. BAPU KALDATE: I am sorry for that. वह युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन तो बड़ा सफेद हाथी बन गया है ।

It may be because of the burden of the colleges.

मैं यह नहीं मानता कि सभी लोग वैसे बैठे हुए हैं, लेकिन उनके ऊपर जो बोझ आ रहा है । इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि यही छोटे-छोटे कालेजों की तरफ देखते तक नहीं है मराठवाड़ा युनिवर्सिटी की चार शिकायतें थीं उन्होंने पैसा मंजूर किया था, उसके लिए मैं महीनों लिखता रहा । लेकिन हमने देखा कि जब हम फोन करते हैं, तो एक अफसर कुर्सी में नहीं होते या मीटिंग में होते हैं, हमसे नहीं मिलते, हमको चेयरमैन तो मिल पाये, लेकिन अफसरान नहीं मिल पाए अभी तक । दो-दो साल हो गए हमारे कम्प्यूटर को मंजूर हुए । आप खुद देखिए अब दो साल हो गए, कितनी कीमत बढ़ गयी । इसको आप कुछ दुरुस्त कीजिए । इसका डीसेंट्रलाइजेशन कीजिए और कोर्डिनेशन की व्यवस्था कीजिए । मैं मानता हूं कि--

without co-ordination, there will be total degeneration.

तो मैं डीजनरेशन की बात नहीं कर रहा हूं । मैं यह भी मानता हूं कि इंटर डिसपिलनरी कोर्सेस की बात सोचिए, जो आजकल चल रही है । दसवीं तक जाता है लड़का तो उसका भाग्य सील हो गया और बारहवीं में आकर तो पूरा सील हो गया, चाहे साइंस हो, चाहे मेडीकल हो या यह हो, वह हो--

There is a thinking, and also there is a practice of inter-disciplinary courses. Suppose I go in for commerce and I want to change for medical education, I can change it.

मैं कहता हूं इस बारे में बहुत सुझाव दे सकता हूं, मैं आपसे बात करके भी दे सकूंगा । आपने मुझे ज्यादा समय दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपका आभारी हूं । धन्यवाद ।

I. STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Re. Government's paper on Long Term Fiscal Policy

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH). Sir, In my Budget Speech earlier this year I had indicated that the Government will be moving towards the formulation of a Long Term Fiscal Policy co-terminous with the Plan. The Seventh Plan was placed in the House a few days ago. It is my privilege to place the Government's Paper on Long Term Fiscal Policy before the House today.

The basic purpose of this document is to impart a perspective to our annual exercises of Budget making. The Government's views on this matter are now before you. I look forward to a full and vigorous debate on this subject in Parliament and in the country.

As the Hon'ble Members would no doubt wish to study the document themselves, I will not take their valuable time by going over its contents. However, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Hon'ble Members for the trouble they have taken in giving us the benefit of their views in discussions in the meetings of Consultative Committee and other fora on this subject. I may add that I have benefited greatly from the discussions that I have had with economists, labour leaders, industrialists and representatives of agriculturists on this subject.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): As we would have another opportunity to discuss this matter. I would request hon. Members seeking clarifications to be very brief. Shri Jagesh Desai.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Sir, the document is not with us. I would like the hon. Minister to give us some broad outlines of this policy. Nothing is there in the statement.